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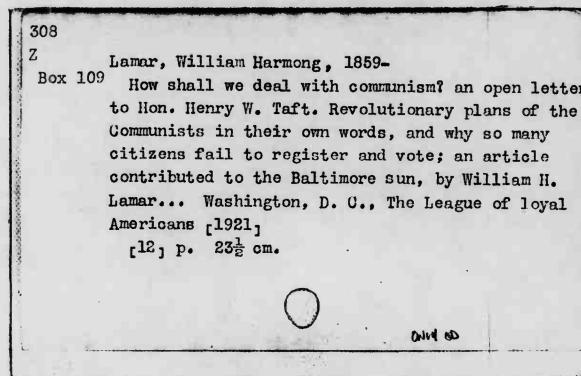
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HOW SHALL WE DEAL WITH COMMUNISM?

An Open Letter to Hon. Henry W. Taft

REVOLUTIONARY PLANS OF THE COM- MUNISTS IN THEIR OWN WORDS

and

WHY SO MANY CITIZENS FAIL TO REGISTER AND VOTE

An article contributed to the Baltimore Sun.

by

WILLIAM H. LAMAR
A. B., L. L. M.

PUBLISHED BY

The League of Loyal Americans

210 Munsay Building

Washington, D. C.

Note.—During the last eight years Mr. Lamar handled the cases of the Post Office Department involving the publication of seditious and disloyal literature. He successfully directed the Government litigation with the New York Call, the Milwaukee Leader, the Masses, The Bull, etc., and has written a number of articles for newspapers and magazines on public questions.

Gloucester, Pa., 17325
At 12

HOW SHALL WE DEAL WITH COMMUNISM ?

An Open Letter to Hon. Henry W. Taft from William H. Lamar,
formerly Assistant Attorney General and Solicitor for
the Post Office Department.

Washington, D. C., Nov. 4, 1921.
Hon. Henry W. Taft,
40 Wall Street,
New York, N. Y.

My dear Mr. Taft:

Please accept my sincere thanks for the printed copy of your speech before the New Jersey Bar Association on "Freedom of Speech and the Espionage Act," just published by that Association. You review certain war legislation and the opinions of the Courts thereon in a very thorough and interesting way, which, I take it, justifies as war measures the laws you mention and the decisions of the Courts thereon. I agree with almost everything you said on this occasion. I may say that I could agree with all you said if we could treat Communism as an abstract theory, which simply had its adherents in great number in the United States. But that Communism in this country cannot be so treated I think has been demonstrated in the papers I have sent you since your speech was delivered. These papers show that the Communist press is an instrument now being actively employed in a conspiracy for the overthrow of this Government by force and bloodshed. It daily carries the orders, suggestions and advice of the leaders of this revolutionary movement to their followers in every industry and in every field of endeavor. The publishers of the Communist press are co-conspirators with Lenin, Trotsky and other worldwide revolutionists to accomplish the overthrow of this and other Governments not by Russian invasion, but through the ultimate absorption and control of labor organizations. They are striving to bring about a class conscious condition of all workers, ready at any opportunity through multiplicity of strikes accompanied by sabotage to tie up industry and precipitate civil war and then seize all of the industries and take forcible control of the Government. In other words these conspirators are daily operating in our midst to bring about the same conditions that prevailed in

Russia just before the revolution in that country. They make no distinction between the government of a Czar, a limited monarchy or a republic, but are the enemies of all organized governments. They make no concealment of their objects and purposes and openly maintain headquarters at 110 West 40th Street, New York City and in other cities.

In your deductions you, like most of the writers and speakers on this subject, treat the Communist movement as an incident of the late war. If this is the correct position it naturally follows that all restrictive measures should be suspended and the granting of general amnesty would be advisable. This is the usual course of civilized nations upon the conclusion of wars and naturally appeals to our people at the present time when so little has been said to distinguish the Communist operations from the definitely pro-German activities of many people residing in the country during the War.

The activities of the Communists during the war made them, as well as the pro-German, subject to the Espionage Act and other war legislation. This fact tends to confuse the present situation in the public mind and makes it more difficult for the people to understand that the Government is now having to deal with a problem separate and apart from the war, and, in fact, one with which the war had nothing to do. The Communists were operating in this country long before the war began and bid fair to be a perpetual menace to this and all other organized Governments for years to come. The Communist movement must therefore be considered entirely apart from the recent war and war conditions. It is a problem in and of itself. It is an existing thing, not something which has passed over something to be expected and to be provided against in the future. It has already reached far greater proportions than our people imagine. Whether it will wither and die in this enlightened land, under the process

You suggest, remains to be seen.

The fact is that the Communist operations in this country, as the Courts have held, daily affect the lives, liberty and property of our people and strike at the very foundation of organized government itself. Things evil within themselves and certainly not of a character to claim the protection of the Government and people they openly seek to destroy. The question is, what shall be the policy of our Government with respect to those who participate in this movement and with respect to the illegal matter they offer for mailing?

You say:

'What is needed is a dissemination of its literature showing the real nature of Bolshevism, and a frank discussion which will enlighten the masses of our people as to its real meaning.'

I agree with you that this is the most important thing to be done, and yet the metropolitan press, with a few exceptions, has been so impressed by the erroneous conventions of the Communist press that the freedom of the press generally is imperiled by the restrictions imposed, under existing law, upon the character of matter habitually carried by the Communist papers, that they not only fail to do the very thing you advocate, but some of them virtually rally to the support of the Communist press itself. In some cases they even furnish Communist papers with financial assistance to fight what they assume to be a common cause. At least one large daily newspaper in this section, heretofore regarded as very conservative, is accepting, editorially, the obsessions of a recent tourist for the facts with respect to the Russian situation. This newspaper characterizes as plain "lies" the facts in regard to Russia and her world-wide revolutionary schemes as officially gathered, published and relied upon by our State Department during this as well as the last administration. These are the very facts you evidently have in mind as the basis for "a frank discussion which will enlighten the masses of our people."

Mr. J. A. H. Hopkins, Chairman of the Committee for Free Press in America, recently announced through the daily papers that "The New York Call" will be supported by that or-

ganization in its appeal to the Supreme Court. He also says:

"On the Committee are a number of newspaper representatives whose policies are totally opposed to those of "The New York Call." They are serving because they believe that the rights of a free press in this country are more important than any political dictatorship. Now that the organization work has been done, we shall commence immediately upon a nation-wide campaign to enlist newspaper proprietors and representatives of all shades of opinion in this fight."

Mr. Hopkins also says that among those who have accepted membership on the Committee are Editors of important publications in all parts of the country. From all of which it appears that a nation-wide movement is being launched in support of the Communist Press upon the assumption that whatever differences exist between it and the metropolitan press are merely "Political." It would seem that a remedy for this condition must be found before your method of treatment for Communism can make much headway.

Having for several years, as solicitor for the Post Office Department, officially handled the revolutionary matter which found its way into the United States mails, I am in a position to state, as a fact, that our papers generally have treated the revolutionary movement in a very superficial way. They daily report instances showing popular unrest, labor troubles, etc., many of which cannot be accounted for upon any other theory than that the revolutionary agents who are known to have "burrowed from within" and honeycombed many branches of the old conservative labor organizations, according to program, are effectively at work, and yet there is little or no newspaper effort to trace the cause. The records and documents at Washington disclose the revolutionary plans in detail, from which anyone could see that every paragraph published in the Communist papers fits into the world-wide scheme of the revolutionists. Many of the industrial troubles reported in the daily press are precisely the kind of trouble that the Communists in this country are instructed to bring about in the working out of the general revolutionary plan. If properly advised a patriotic and watchful public

would know what these daily manifestations of unrest and lawlessness mean, and there would be very much less danger from the movement. But if the press minimizes the importance of this conspiracy against the Government and insists upon a free Communist press to convey daily the orders and instructions of the revolutionary leaders to their followers, as many of them are doing, the task of handling impending lawlessness and disorders will be made much more difficult, as the revolutionary plans ripen.

No one has greater "faith in popular institutions" or a higher opinion of the sound judgment of the American people than myself. But the people must get the facts and the only way they can get them is through the newspapers. If the newspapers ignore, color or distort the facts or lead the people off from a vital point to the consideration of matter of an irrelevant or immaterial nature, the American jury cannot reach a correct verdict upon this or any other matter submitted for its consideration.

It should be borne in mind, in this connection, that under the Classification Act the enjoyment of the Second Class mailing privileges by a Communist paper means that the people are taxed to pay about 85% of the cost incurred by the Government for carrying this "polluted matter" in the mails. Should this burden upon the public continue if the remedy you propose for Communism be adopted as the exclusive remedy?

In a foot note in your speech you say:

"The discussion is confined to the decisions under Sections 3 and 4 of Title one (of the Espionage Act). I do not deal with censorship or exclusion from the mails or with Interstate Commerce."

It seems to me that your discussion also failed to cover another vital proposition of immediate practical importance to administrative officers, as well as Congress, in dealing with the Communist movement. Section 211 of the Criminal Code not only makes unlawful matter "of a character tending to incite arson, murder or assassination," but makes the sending of such matter through the mails

a criminal offense. And section 2 of Title XII of the Act of June 15, 1917, which is also permanent legislation and in force in times of peace as well as in time of war makes non-mailable matter advocating or urging treason, insurrection or forcible resistance to any law of the United States and the sending of such matter through the mails is also made a crime against the United States.

Should the remedy you suggest for Communism be adopted as the sole remedy, what is to be done with these laws if the Communist press continues to violate them in the future and the courts have held that they have done so in the past? Shall the Post Office Department and the Department of Justice officials violate their oaths of office and, as a matter of policy, fail to enforce the law, as it seems many newspapers would have them do, or shall those laws be repealed and leave the Government powerless to protect itself from internal foes at any time?

In the consideration of these questions, it seems appropriate to have before us the views of former President Roosevelt as expressed to the Attorney General in a letter dated March 20, 1908. This was his first move against Anarchists' publications at Patterson, N. J., and elsewhere and which soon after caused Congress to amend the law as it now appears in Section 211 of the Criminal Code. He said:

* * * They (the anarchist publications) are, of course, the enemies of mankind, and every effort should be strained to hold them accountable for an offense far more infamous than that of our ordinary murderers. * * Under Section 3892 of the Revised Statutes, lewd, lascivious and obscene books and letters, publications for indecent and immoral uses or of an indecent and immoral nature are all excluded from the mails, and provision is made for fine and imprisonment of a guilty * * * The publishing of murder and arson are certainly as immoral as the circulation of obscene and lascivious literature, and if the practice is not already

forbidden by the law, it should be forbidden. The immigration law now prohibits the entry into the United States of any person who entertains or advocates the views expressed in this newspaper. It is, of course, inexcusable to permit those already here to promulgate such views. Those who write, publish or circulate these articles stand on the level with those who use the mails for distributing poisons for the purpose of murder, and convictions have been obtained when the mails have been thus used for the distribution of poisons. No law should require the Postmaster General to become an accessory to murder by circulating literature of this kind."

The Anarchists constitute the most aggressive element of the Communist movement and are recognized in the writings and speeches of Lenin and Trotzky. Two of the leading Anarchists of America, Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, who were deported, as such, under our immigration laws, are now in Russia gathering data for a history of the recent revolution in that country with the aid and protection of the Bolshevik Government. What President Roosevelt said in his letter to the Attorney General in 1908 applies with full force to the Communist movement in this country today.

Was President Roosevelt right and did Congress act wisely in enacting Section 211 of the Criminal Code and Section 2 of Title XII of the Act of June 16, 1917, both of which provide the legal means for giving effect to Mr. Roosevelt's suggestion?

Guizot tells us that at the time of the French Revolution only one or two per cent of the people of France believed in violence but that the other ninety-eight per cent allowed the two per cent to fill the streets of Paris with festering corpses, to clog the Seine with dead bodies, to shut up every factory in Paris until the laboring classes starved by scores of thousands. Perhaps a smaller percentage of the population of Russia, centered at Moscow and Petrograd, brought on the present catastrophe in that unhappy and starv-

ing country. The same forces which engulfed Russia are notoriously at work in this country and with the same avowed purpose in view. Shall we remove all legal restrictions to their operations and rely entirely upon an educational process which is manifestly not now functioning?

It would seem that the time has arrived for the adoption and vigorous enforcement of some definite national policy with respect to the Communist movement in this country. Whether that policy be educational or restrictive, or both, should be settled without delay, so that the officials charged with the enforcement of our restrictive laws, as well as the public may be relieved of the present hazy situation.

I know of no one more competent to take the lead in this movement than yourself, and I trust that in your next paper on the subject you will deal with the questions herein presented as a step forward in the solution of this great problem. You are not handicapped by the prejudices which have become more or less fixed against those who have been officially responsible for the enforcement, during the war, of our non-mailability law and your views carry much weight with the metropolitan press.

The Supreme Court has held time and again, that the Federal Statutes which make non-mailable particular matter which Congress finds to be immoral and against public policy to have distributed through the mails, do not violate the Sections of the Constitution guaranteeing freedom of speech and freedom of press. Nevertheless, the present agitation, on behalf of the communist press, is based upon a contrary contention.

If any American newspaper editor in his heart is not willing to accept as final the non-mailability laws as interpreted by our highest court, acquiescence in them should certainly appeal to him from the standpoint of the future of his publication, which in the last analysis derives its power and influence from the confidence reposed in the press by the public generally. Any publication which offends the patriotic impulses of the nation, must, if continued, jeopardize its influence with the reader.

Very truly yours,
W. H. LAMAR.

REVOLUTIONARY PLANS OF THE COMMUNISTS IN THEIR OWN WORDS

Our State Department has from time to time published documentary evidence which fully warrants the statements I make in the foregoing open letter to Mr. Taft as to the character and extent of the revolutionary movement and the direct connection and co-operation of the Communist element in this country with the world-wide revolutionary leaders operating in Russia.

The State Department Bulletin for the press of March 29, 1920, issued by Assistant Secretary Breckinridge Long says:

"The State Department received cable reports from Riga revealing revolutionary propaganda documents found in the possession of a Bolshevik courier captured last month while en route from Soviet Russia to the United States.

"'Armed insurrection,' establishment of a 'dictatorship of the proletariat' in the United States, and the formation of an 'Underground organization for revolutionary propaganda among the masses' are among the acts urged. The documents which the Bolshevik courier was carrying calls upon the communists of America to ally themselves with the I. W. W. to 'seize power' and reveal the Russian Communist view that the 'most important task' of the radicals in America is to bring the 'wide proletarian masses into the path of the revolutionary struggle.'

Assistant Secretary Long then quotes from one of the papers carried by this courier which is signed by G. Zinoviev, President of the Executive Committee of the Communist International and a co-worker with Lenin and Trotzky, as follows:

"The Party must take into account the every day incidents of the class war. The stage of verbal propaganda and agitation has been left behind. The time for decisive battles has arrived. The most important task confronting the American Communists at the present moment is to draw the wide proletarian masses into the path of the revolutionary struggles. The Party must have (for its goal) the dissolution of the American Fed-

eration of Labor and other unions associated with it and must strive to establish the closest connections with the I. W. W. The One Big Union and the W. I. I. U. The Party must support the formation of factory workers, committees in factories, those serving as bases for the every day struggle and for training the advance guard of labor in managing industry. ***

One of the most important tasks for the American Communists is the establishment of a large daily political paper, not for theoretical propaganda in training but for giving information on all public events from the Communist point of view. The Executive Committee urges American comrades to establish immediately an underground organization for the purpose of revolutionary propaganda among the masses and for carrying on the work in case of violent suppression of the legal party organization. The fewer people who know about it the better."

Assistant Secretary Long quotes for another paper signed by Zinoviev and continues:

"Here follows an outline of the common aims of the Communist International and the I. W. W. and a description of the recent American legislative measures to 'batter up' capitalism. It is asserted that the American Government and the capitalists, attempting to enslave the factory workers, and that the blood and sweat of the laborers must be turned into gold to pay the war debts of the ruined capitalists' Government.

"The Party must take into account the every day incidents of the class war. The stage of verbal propaganda and agitation has been left behind. The time for decisive battles has arrived. The most important task confronting the American Communists at the present moment is to draw the wide proletarian masses into the path of the revolutionary struggles. The Party must have (for its goal) the dissolution of the American Fed-

"Unless the workers of other countries rise against their own capitalists the Russian revolution cannot last."

"Here follows a statement that the

capitalistic state exposes its real functions as merely protecting capital, this being particularly true of the American constitution."

"In discussing the dictatorship of the proletariat, an argument is made for the recognition of the necessity of overthrowing the state and of substituting for it an industrial adminis-

trative body similar to the General Executive of the I. W. W."

"In a paragraph on politics, the 'yellow' socialists are reviled and this declaration is made by Zinoviev:

"We Communists do not believe it possible to capture state power by using the political machinery of the capitalist state."

"Zinoviev stated that the general strike as advocated by the I. W. W. is insufficient to wrest power from the capitalist state. Armed insurrection must be employed.

"In discussing revolutionary parliamentarism, Zinoviev said, 'Communists elected to Congress or legislatures have at their function to make propaganda.'

"Victor Berger, William Haywood and Vincent St. John convicted in the Chicago Federal Courts in 1918, are all extolled by Zinoviev as useful examples of the political use of government institutions for communistic purposes.

"The particular business of the I. W. W. is to train workers for the seizure and management of industry. All workers must be members of the revolutionary industrial union of their industry and of the political party advocating socialism.

"Then follows a paragraph on social revolution and future society.

"The I. W. W. should take the initiative in trying to establish a basis for uniting all unions having a class-conscious revolutionary character such as the W. I. I. U., the One Big Union and insurgents from the American Federation of Labor. They should not repel the attempts of American Communists to come to an agreement.

The receding is all in harmony with Lenin's speech before the Communist International on July 19, 1920, in which he said:

"* * * preparation for the dictatorship of the proletariat requires not only a sharper struggle against reformist tendencies but also a change in the character of this struggle. The struggle cannot be limited to attempt to make clear the mistaken character of these reformist tendencies; the struggle should unmask pitilessly every worker within the labor movement who shows these tendencies. * * * What before the victory of the proletariat appears theoretically as merely a difference of opinion on the question of 'democracy', after the

proletarian victory becomes inevitably a question to be decided by force of arms. Consequently the preliminary preparation of the masses for the realization of the dictatorship of the proletariat is impossible without a wide and radical change in the whole character of the struggle against 'Centrists' and the 'defenders of democracy.'

"The dictatorship of the proletariat is the most decisive and revolutionary form of the class struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. This struggle can succeed only when the most revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat carries with it the overwhelming majority of the latter. * * *

"* * * It is necessary to drive out from all these positions those representatives of the labor aristocracy, and also, and with even greater daring, those workmen that have become bourgeois, and replace such even by the most inexperienced workmen.

"* * * the preparation of the dictatorship of the proletariat must be begun everywhere and immediately by means of the following, among other methods: In all, without exception, organizations, unions, and associations first of all of proletarians and then of non proletarian, toiling and exploited masses (political, trades unions, military, co-operative, educational, athletic, etc.) there must be created small groups of Communists. These last should be preferably public, but also secret, the latter obligatory whenever one can anticipate the closing down of the former or the arrest or exile of their members by the bourgeoisie. Further, these groups, closely connected up among themselves and with the central bodies of the party, interchanging experiences, carrying out the work of agitation, propaganda and organization, applying themselves to absolutely all fields of public life and to absolutely all aspects and subdivisions of the toiling mass, must systematically educate themselves and also the party, the class and the masses by such comprehensive activity. * * * in all instances, without exception, it is necessary not to limit oneself to illegal work, but it is necessary to carry on also legal activity, overcoming all difficulties, establishing legal organizations of the press and legal organizations under the

most varied aspects, and, where necessary frequently changing names.

"* * * In particular, the position of the workmen's press in the most progressive capitalist countries shows me plainly the complete falsehood of freedom and equality under bourgeois democracy, and also the need of systematically uniting legal and illegal activity. Both in conquered Germany and in victorious America the whole power of the State apparatus of the bourgeoisie and all the activities of its financial kings have been set in motion in order to deprive the workmen of their press; judicial proceedings and arrests (or murder by hired murderers) of editors, exclusion from the mails, depriving of paper, etc. Further, the news material needed by a daily paper is in the hands of bourgeois telegraph agencies, and advertisements, with out which a large newspaper cannot pay expenses, are in the 'free' control of capitalists.

To combat all this Communist parties must create a new type of periodic press for mass distribution among workmen: Firstly, legal publications which without calling themselves Communists and without speaking of their membership in the Party, would learn to use the smallest measure of legal existence, as the Bolsheviks did under the Tsar after 1905; secondly, illegal leaflets, even though distributed in small numbers and irregularly, but reprinted in a mass of printing offices by workmen secretly, that secretly if the movement grows by means of revolutionary seizure of printing offices which will give the proletarian free revolutionary information and revolutionary watchwords.

"Unless the masses are drawn into the revolutionary struggle for the freedom of the Communist press, there can be no preparation for the dictatorship of the proletariat."

The articles of Hon. Henry W. Taft in the New York Times, issues of June 17, June 23 and July 6, 1921, are very interesting in this connection. They show from the highest authorities that notwithstanding the recent and much heralded return to capitalism of the Russian Government given out under stress of famine and commercial isolation, the leopard has not changed his spots since our State Department published the foregoing data. These articles demonstrate that Moscow is still "thor-

oughly committed to war on Government and institutions of other countries"; that "Lenin's failure at home has not turned him from his purposes to promote strife abroad" and that Russia has met with success against "outside forces" although "failure at home."

The recent bomb outrage at the residence of the American ambassador at Paris and Communist demonstrations against American embassies and consulates throughout the world should be an object lesson to the American people. This movement was engineered without restraint by a group of communists at Boston to compel a reversal of the action of a Massachusetts court and jury against two communists condemned to murder. Our people have had object lessons before and should understand the objects and methods of the communists. Within the last two years bombs have been planted, not only for the destruction of property, but for the assassination of Federal officials, judges, legislators, manufacturers, financiers, and others, in Washington, New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, and many other cities in this country. It has only been about a year since the bomb explosion in Wall Street which startled the entire world with its terrific toll in lives and property.

The Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia in its decision in the case brought by the New York Call against the Postmaster General, after reviewing various articles published by the Call concludes as follows:

"We have in our own country a concrete illustration of the result of such revolutionary propaganda in the recent bomb outrage in New York City, resulting in the death of many innocent persons and an appalling destruction of property. When it is kept in mind that this publication constantly brought to mind in the public mind the idea that it is their duty to overthrow the Government, disregard all law, and seize for themselves the property and belongings of others, irrespective of means and regardless of consequences, we must find that there was substantial evidence before the Postmaster General justifying his refusal to accord any postal privilege to this polluted matter."

Why So Many Citizens Fail to Register and Vote

Constitution Prescribed As Antidote for "Civic Dry Rot" By This Judge.

Guiding Principles of the Nation Have Become Obscured and Voters Are Indifferent Because They See Class Struggling Against Class and Efforts to Control Morals By Law.

By WILLIAM H. LAMAR

An editorial under the heading "What Does It Mean?" in The Sun on October 17 said that about one-third of the citizens of Baltimore who are entitled to be registered as voters have failed to avail themselves of that great privilege of citizenship, through which alone they can make their weight felt in the determination of who shall be elected to public office and what our Governmental policies shall be. The following questions were asked:

"Is the theory of democracy becoming unpopular with its supposed beneficiaries, or are there local causes for this apparent spread of civic dry rot? Is it a case of disgust with popular rule or a case of indifference to the blessings of self government. What does this army of 117,000 self-disenfranchised voters represent?"

I also read in the letter column in the issue of October 23 the communication from Mrs. Walter Hutchins, in which she reaches the conclusion that the trouble is due to the fact that "democracy, so far as the voter is concerned, is a fake unless he is a controlling member of the organization or powers that do control in Maryland in affairs political." The purpose of her letter is to encourage independent voting, presumably as a remedy for the conditions stated in the editorial.

Cause Of Trouble Lies Deep.

Manifestly the cause of the trouble lies much deeper than Mrs. Hutchins has indicated and, however beneficial her prescription might prove if all of the people did register and did vote, it would have little effect in improving the situation to which the Sun directs attention, if most of them did not register and did not vote at all, which may possibly occur at the coming election.

Mrs. Hutchins also deplores the fact that government in the United States is effected through political

organizations to which fact she attributes many of our political difficulties.

Soon after the adoption of our Federal Constitution the people divided themselves into political parties, this being the only method which has ever been evolved in a republic to secure expression of the popular will as to men and measures. So that we may say that from almost the beginning of our history this has been a government by political parties, and yet few if any of the evils now present in our system, as enumerated by Mrs. Hutchins, made their appearance for over 60 years after the adoption of the Constitution.

"What is the reason for this?" To answer this question involves the consideration of the conditions which prevailed then and now. When this Government threw off the yoke of Great Britain it became necessary to establish a new government. Our Revolutionary fathers decided to establish a republic with a constitution which in the light of all history would afford the greatest protection to the lives, liberty and property of our people. The great debates which preceded the adoption of that instrument showed the reasons for every clause in it. Every American at that time understood these reasons. In fact, the Constitution was the principal thing which engaged the attention of the American people at that time. Its provisions were impressed upon the mind and soul of every American of that day, and as a result the duties of citizenship, including the exercise of the right to vote, were performed as a patriotic duty. Everyone knew the aims and purposes of the republic and realized that its perpetuation depended upon the intelligent exercise of the duties of citizenship by the individual.

Over 130 years have elapsed. Generation after generation has died off. The objects and purposes of the fram-

ers of the Constitution and the provisions of that document itself are to the present generation things of the distant past, to be observed, if at all, through hazy intervening atmosphere.

There has intervened the Civil War period, with its vast losses of life and property and the abolition of slavery. Then the horrible Reconstruction period. Then the vast railroad and industrial growth and the industrial complications which accompanied it. Then the recent World War, which has caused a greater upheaval on the entire globe than was ever before known. In addition to these there have been from time to time other stirring events, with the result that the people have lost sight of the Constitution and are drifting more or less aimlessly, so far as the fundamental principles of the republic are concerned. They do not see government in the prospective; they merely see candidates for office or special measures proposed to be enacted into law. As a whole, they take little interest in the personality of candidates for office and proposed measures appeal to them or not as personal interest dictates without regard to whether the plan or proposal may fit into our constitutional system.

Foreign Infiltration.

We have a very large population of foreign-born, who brought with them to this country their own ideas of government, in most cases entirely inconsistent with the ideas of those who framed our Constitution. Ignorance as to the essential features of our Government prevails on every hand. The wealthy and the poor, the educated and the uneducated alike, neglect to properly inform themselves upon the duties and advantages of American citizenship. Under such conditions is it strange that the spirit of the Constitution is almost dead and that the principles underlying the Constitution are ignored in every walk of life and that every kind of ism finds favorable soil for propagation and growth?

In the absence of something better politicians vie with each other in finding something to present to the people to command their votes which appeals to prejudice or selfish interest, however unsound politically or economically the proposition may be when tested by the standards established by the founders of the repub-

lic after careful study of the history and experiences, the elements of strength and weakness, of every government on earth which then existed or which had preceded us. How, then, can we expect to find other than lack of interest on the part of the electorate?

The guiding star of the nation, the Constitution, has become almost obscure. In its place the people only see class struggling against class; sumptuary laws to restrict personal liberty; organized influences in the field of politics to control morals through legislation; paternal laws to regulate the person and the home; a babel of tongues clamoring for Federal laws of every kind which when enacted sap the police powers which the Constitution reserved to the States, to secure a lasting Union of indestructible States. Recently there has been a widespread demand for a limitation upon the power of the courts to declare such laws unconstitutional. Any one of these propositions is so inimical to the spirit of the Constitution as to make its framers turn over in their graves and yet in response to popular or class demands they receive majorities in State Legislatures and in Congress.

In my humble judgment what we need most is a thorough revival of interest in the Constitution and what it should mean to each of us regardless of class or sex; a careful study of its provisions and their daily application to every incident of national life. It is the greatest boon any nation has ever had. Every individual, every class of our people, every corporation, every church or other society or organization has developed his or its influence, wealth and power under the protecting influence of that instrument. Then why should they not lend their aid to the education of the present generation and the generations to come in the essentials of a lasting popular government to be found alone in the Federal Constitution, instead of complaining at the civic "dry rot" which has manifestly set in as a direct result of a failure to direct the course of our national life by this safe compass?

This country has developed during the last 134 years, under the inspiration of the Constitution, from a weak association of scattered colonies to

the leading position of wealth and power among the nations of the earth. "Forward looking" should not be construed to mean "scuttling the ship," as virtually contended for by many intellectuals to whom the spirit of our Constitution is unknown.

People Make Politicians.

Politicians generally are what the people and the conditions under which they operate make them. It follows that to change the prevailing type of politician the prevailing conditions must be changed. Neither abuse nor advice has ever accomplished that feat.

The situation in Baltimore and Maryland in respect to registration and voting is not different from that of other communities and States, and possibly no worse at the present time than it has been at various other times in the last few decades, although the tendency may be, and doubtless is, from bad to worse.

I stated above that ignorance as to the essential features of our Government prevails among the educated as well as the uneducated. This is forcibly illustrated as to the latter class in the recent address of Miss M. Carey Thomas, president of Bryn Mawr College, at the Founders' Day celebration at Mount Holyoke College, in which she is reported in the newspapers to have said:

But this new and almost universal appreciation of the power of education has brought upon us what I regard as the most terrible menace to American schools and colleges and to free and liberal thought that has come in my lifetime. The Federal and State governments, boards of education, Americanization societies, American Legions and organizations of every kind are demanding that children and college students be taught patriotism, concrete citizenship and 100 per cent Americanism. This means that school teachers and college professors, as yet only in public schools and State universities, but, unless the movement is determinedly opposed, sooner or later, everywhere, are being required to teach not only how to make things as they should be, but that things as they are are right; that the United States Constitution, as written 134 years ago, is perfect; that our

highly unsatisfactory Government must not be criticized; that the United States flag, which, as we all know, flies over many cruel injustices which we hope to set right, must be revered as a sacred symbol of unchanging social order, of political death in life.

Imagine a ship upon a stormy sea without chart or compass, with a crew of landsmen, each trying to navigate it, and we can form some idea of Miss Thomas' conception of things as they should be in government. True, she and others find many things in our political life at present which are concededly bad, but these are due in most part to general ignorance of the Constitution, and failure to observe its letter and spirit during this and a few preceding generations.

Instead of trapping the rats she would burn the barn to destroy them. Provision is made in the Constitution itself for amendment as new conditions may require which provision has been repeatedly availed of by the American people, in some cases perhaps unwisely. There is no reason why this Charter of our liberties should be treated with scorn and our flag with contempt by so prominent an educator of the rising generation.

Up to the last generation our great American statesmen were wont to draw the Constitution in defense whenever the serpent of political heresy raised its head, while today the politicians who have succeeded them, in most part, dare not advance when they should constitutional objections for fear of being catalogued as reactionaries by a generation which has lost sight of the palladium of their freedom. Would the school of thought represented by Miss Thomas deprive us of the priceless heritage left us by those who have made and developed this republic?

In view of the statement of his position on certain public questions our world renowned surgeon and philanthropist, Dr. Howard A. Kelly, who is making a campaign for public office in Baltimore through certain churches, might ponder over these thoughts with profit.

(Baltimore Sun, November 6, 1921.)

Note.—Only about 45% of the registered voters went to the polls in Baltimore at the election on November 8, 1921.

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